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This is harsh language, but it contains truth. May we not ask if woman's influence in such matters does not begin even earlier than when wars are raging? Soldiers are made in the home when the mother dresses her little boys up in uniform, gives them toy pistols and other toy fire-arms to play with. Why, even the babies have their toy soldiers to "play kill." Why should little ones be taught such principles? Aristotle long ago said: "Let the very playthings of your children have a bearing on the life and work of the coming man." It is early training that exerts the greater influence. Mothers should not allow their children to have military toys, to practise war-like games, or anything that makes them familiar with taking life, as a pastime. They should be early taught the divine law as to the sacredness of human life, and also the golden rule. Show them that true heroism consists in saving life and property and in self-denying labors for the good of mankind. Instil into the minds of the boys and girls the noble principles of forgiveness of injuries and of overcoming evil with good. Let us teach the children that true patriotism consists in doing good and not evil to our fellow countrymen, and teach them to love the flag of our country, to regard it only as an emblem or ensign of our nationality, and to hold it sacred as such. We wish every school-house in our land had this beautiful emblem floating over it. * * *

Our beloved President, Mrs. Sewall, has well said in her triennial address: "Patriotic men can not be produced where patriotic women do not exist in the home." "The hand that rocks the cradle moves the world," and woman can do more than any other in teaching the future citizens to insist upon arbitration rather than upon warfare for the settlement of all national or international difficulties. Says Mrs. Sigourney: "Whatever may be done by the cradle-side or the hearth-stone to promote the spirit of peace and amity, let us do; let us breathe into unfolding infancy the soul of love; let us touch for our daughters the key-note of the angel's song; let us point our young sons to the rock of St. Helena, and tell them that the glory of the warrior is but remorse.

O, if mothers would be more careful, thoughtful and guarded in the training of their children, it might save themselves much heartache, and save the children to their country and to the world, which needs carefully trained children so much. * * *

The women of the present are doing much to bring in that time when, as the prophet says, wars shall be no more. There are a great many local women's peace societies in England that are doing a grand work. The French women have issued an effective manifesto against war. The women of other European countries are awake to the hour. Who can wonder, when the standing armies keep them in such poverty and degradation! The American Peace Society has several women among its officers. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union has

a Department of Peace and Arbitration which seeks to promulgate the principles of peace throughout the whole world. It tries to discourage militarism in all its forms, particularly among the young, and is exerting its influence to discourage the Boys' Brigade and the military drill in the public schools. It organizes Peace Bands among the children, publishes two Department papers and many tracts, keeps a corps of efficient lecturers in the field and is ever ready for any aggressive work.

We heartily endorse the sentiments of our friend and coworker, Rev. James H. Earle of Boston, in an editorial recently published in his excellent and popular paper, *The Contributor*: "Well may thoughtful patriots and Christians join hands in these closing days of this most remarkable century of progress, for the triumph of the kingdom of peace, and the disappearance of grim war from among the nations.

"All reforms root themselves first in the individual heart and life, and it will be for us each to become at peace with ourselves, with our neighbors and, under the leadership of the Prince of Peace, to hasten the good time. With courage may we hope that when the sun breaks over the coming twentieth century, it shall shine on nations whose spears have been beaten into pruning hooks and swords into plowshares, and the wail of the world's sorrow over war's desolation shall have melted into the song of peace, as sung by our own Whittier:

"So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.
Then shall all shackles fall: the stormy clangor
Of wild war's music o'er the earth shall cease;
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace."

THE GROWTH OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

Address delivered before the National Council of Women in Washington, Thursday evening, February 28th.

The woman of to-day needs both knowledge and wisdom, and this the Council is designed to develop. It must be a source of congratulation to all women that the Council idea has so broadened as to take into its fold the Jew and the Gentile; Catholic and Protestant; the affiliates with the Grand Army of the Republic; the Peace Union and the Red Cross.

Peace is a matter of education more largely than of legislation; although the latter is necessary.

The history of mankind has been one of war from the slaying of Abel in the Garden of Eden until the present time; and, strangely enough, the religious wars of the past, so contrary to the spirit of Christ and his teachings, have been the bitterest and most prolonged.

Mahomet thought to convert his 'fellows to his religious creed by making war upon them, ignoring the fact that

the essential element of religion is love. One of the principal commandments contained in the Koran is "War against the infidel;" and the infidel has been in all ages, the man who does not believe as we do.

In the twelfth century the wars against heretics caused the death of millions of professed Christians, whose tenets did not precisely agree with those of their persecutors. During the reign of terror, which succeeded the horrid edicts of the Inquisition, wives testified against their husbands, and husbands against their wives; parents against their children, and children against their parents; until not only families, but communities were dismembered, and commerce ruined.

The slaughter of five thousand Huguenots in Paris and thirty thousand in the Provinces was the result of a religious war between Catholicism and Protestantism. In the three years of war which followed the Edict of Nantes, France is said to have lost nearly one million of inhabitants.

The Thirty Years' War in England during the same century had its origin in the same religious dissensions and jealousies; it created a bitterness between Catholics and Protestants, between Englishmen and Frenchmen, which two hundred years of peace have failed to eradicate, and which has recently found an outcropping in our own country in the birth of the A. P. A. It is the real cause of the lack of success of the movement for Home Rule in Ireland.

The Franco-Prussian War cost France besides the loss of territory five thousand million francs and five hundred thousand men. It engendered a hatred between Frenchmen and Germans that another century will not eradicate.

Our own civil war cost our nation one million men and three billion dollars, besides the waste of valuable records and countless treasure, and \$145,000,000 yearly in pensions. It laid the foundation of the countless financial disasters of 1895, and created sectional prejudices and hatreds that will not entirely die out during the next fifty years.

The writers of war histories keep up this race and sectional prejudice by writing each from his own party standpoint. They suppress many facts, and belittle the strength, courage and magnanimity of their opponents, and too often color and magnify the usually very insignificant cause of the war itself. It is doubtful if a candid person, entirely unacquainted with the facts, who should read English history with an account of the seven years' war of the Revolution, and then read our American history of the same events, could believe that they related to the same events. The same may be said in reference to the historians of the Franco-German war or of our war of the Rebellion.

But we do not stop by putting these highly colored and erroneous histories into our libraries for the edification and instruction of mature readers. They are too

often condensed into school books for the instruction of the young, who imbibe the hatreds and prejudices of ourselves and of our ancestors. We have ten statues to the soldier where we have one to the philanthropist.

A recital of their wars constitutes the largest portion of the history of Christian nations; while the strides that they have made in commerce, in manufactures, and the arts, constitute the least.

The love of home and country are undoubtedly meritorious attributes, and self-sacrifice for country has always been held in high esteem, but it is but another form of self-love, and it is quite possible to make this love not only excessive, but unjust. There is another and a higher love—the great love of humanity, of peace, of justice and equality—that should be taught to our youth as well. To die for one's country has been usually considered the highest order of patriotism; but to live for one's country is something higher.

We have another power at work to foment war, and that is the war correspondent, and it is painful to see how his blood-curdling narratives stir up the war spirit in our young men.

By our Constitution we are pledged to neutrality. We do not need to increase our territory, and have publicly declared through the Pan-American Congress that the right of conquest does not exist. We have gone further. We have invited the nations of the world, and particularly all of those with whom we are in treaty relations, to join with us in a series of permanent Treaties of Arbitration.

To bring about such a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the Hon. Wm. Randal Cremer has recently visited our shores, bearing a petition to the President and the Congress of the United States, signed by 354 members of the British House of Commons, and assuring us that Her Majesty's Ministry are largely in favor of the measure. In doing this Mr. Cremer has ignored that old threadbare trick of so called diplomacy, which is always shifting responsibility by saying, let the other party make the overtures, and has had the moral courage to come to request that our Government take action in this very important matter. I am sorry to know that we have some legislators incapable of appreciating his motives, or the blessings that such a permanent state of international peace would give, but in spite of them our Government will by and by respond favorably to Mr. Cremer's memorial.

Our Congress, without any danger of war unless we provoke one by meddling, are continuously making appropriations for war ships to strengthen our Navy, in order to protect long stretches of sea coast, that no nation has the remotest idea of attacking, or to protect our foreign commerce, which has recently grown so small that one would need a microscope to discover it. These large naval appropriations furnish very good jobs for the young

men who graduate at Annapolis ; and glory for the Secretary of the Navy, who is usually anxious to magnify himself and his office. So the money of the people is spent for a costly vessel that will usually stand the strain of one peaceful cruise at sea, providing there are no storms, and then go to the dry dock for repairs. These appropriations are not only useless, but positively harmful, for they at once alarm our European friends, and incite them to a greater increase of their military and naval appropriations.

All of this vast expenditure of money is made notwithstanding the present depleted condition of the Treasury, while the poor of Washington and other large cities are starving and business men are going to the wall.

The United States can afford to be generous and progressive along the line of peace legislation, even to taking the initiative in a permanent Treaty of Arbitration with a country as highly cultured as Great Britain, for the peace spirit is the cultured one, and the war spirit the savage side of human nature ; other nationalities would be sure to follow. This would be the dawning of a new day, an epoch in history ever to be remembered.

The present industrial condition of the country, the struggle of labor against the greed of monopolies, of trusts, of vast aggregations of capital, is a far greater menace to the security and prosperity of the State than any foreign foe possibly can be. Canada and Mexico are bound to us by common interests and peaceful commercial treaties. There is no threat of violence from either.

But a great strike, that quarters on a community thousands of idle men, ties up the railroads, the great living arteries of a nation's life, impedes the mails and blocks the wheels of commerce, is a menace of which wise legislators should take note. A strike is a war whose blow is aimed at the very root of society.

Felix Adler says : "If we are not to rely upon mere brute force in quelling these disturbances ; if we are not to depend upon bayonets and machine guns, we must find a way of peaceably solving these difficulties. We must see whether we cannot allay that keen sense of social justice which is far more operative to breed discontent than distress itself."

Hon. Carroll D. Wright said recently before the Woman's National Press Club that the only true fighters and "the only true commanders are the captains of industry ;" that America's true greatness lies in her industrial world, in which all classes are engaged, and in which woman has now become an economic factor. He intimates that the cure for the strike is culture, education, moral suasion, and that the present tendency of organization in all classes of society is bringing about this result. A social organization like this Woman's Council may become a complicated machine as powerful for good as a standing army is for ill. All classes of labor are organized, constituting so many industrial armies, and newspapers and newspaper correspondents are by no means the last to

wheel into line. When these ladies have presented their papers to this Council of Women their contents will be known at the same time to New York and London. Thought and handiwork have belted the globe. We are one people, with a community of interests, aspirations and desires. Why should we quarrel with each other?

The Red Cross follows after the army, binds up the wounds made by the sabre and the bullet, closes the eyes of the dying, and sends the parting message to the widow and mother ; but the Peace Movement, with a broader charity, seeks to abolish guns and bayonets and to settle all difficulties by arbitration, or by judicial methods.

Women have nothing to gain by war, and the laboring man only a soldier's grave, or wasted health, with his sacrifices speedily forgotten or ignored by the Government and the masses.

The great war of to-day in this country is a war for bread and butter.

The Congress of the United States, now at the close of its third heated term, finds itself unequal to cope with this great financial problem, in which capital and labor, silver and gold, are involved, while the Secretary of the Treasury has exhausted his financial ingenuity to protect the gold reserve, and the credit of a great and wealthy nation is being weighed in the balance, and bartered on the markets of the world. Could a Woman's Council, with an upper and lower house, have plunged the country into a greater financial disaster?

I am here to tell what the advocates of peace are doing, and hope to do, and to ask your thought and co-operation ; for no thoughtful person, no humane person, believes in war, which destroys everything and creates nothing but hatred.

We believe and teach peace and arbitration in the home, in the church, in society, in the State, and between nations. We believe in the sanctity of human life, the inalienable rights of individuals, in justice, in equality and fraternity. Our Government has already settled many serious difficulties with the various nations of the world by arbitration and by treaty, without resort to war and without bloodshed, and the expense of all of them combined has not been one-tenth that of the War of the Revolution.

Just now we are doing what you are doing. We are combining the work of all the Peace Societies, we are wiping out sectionalism ; joining hands with our friends across the Atlantic and in far-off Asia ; ignoring creeds and tongues, party lines and historical legends ; affiliating with Professors of Colleges and Universities, and combining all of the friends of peace—and their name is legion—in one grand cordon for the suppression of war. The work of our Conventions and Conferences is sent to the crowned heads of the nations. Our resolutions and petitions are being introduced into the Parliaments of the

world. We begin with the home, the school, the society, the university, the press, and then we go to the halls of legislation.

Our great aim to-day is permanent treaties of arbitration, a permanent International Arbitration Court, and gradual disarmament.

Peace Societies are springing up everywhere, not only in the United States, but in Europe. Organization is the hope of the world, and woman the elastic cement that is binding organizations together, and by them and through them we hope soon to hold the banner aloft to the nations of the world, proclaiming the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

WOMAN AND PATRIOTISM.

BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

President of the National Council of Women.

The fourth line of effort undertaken by the Council through standing committees is that indicated by the name of the fourth Committee, "The Committee on Patriotism." The assertion is not unfrequently made that patriotism is on the decline; that not only the spirit of '76 but the spirit of 1861 as well has expired and, wrapped in the mantle of Peace, is embalmed merely in patriotic memory. It is well for women to bear in mind that this assertion is made only by those who believe that the highest expression of patriotism is found in one's willingness to die for one's country. If the truth shall ever be universally recognized that to die for one's country is a service far inferior to *living for one's country*, women must bear a large share in its inculcation. So long the ideal of physical courage has been recognized in a willingness to meet death, and the highest ideal of moral courage has been associated with *willingness to meet death for a good and noble cause* that it has grown a difficult task to make people realize that it requires more physical courage to live three-score-years-and-ten than to die at an earlier date, and that it requires more moral courage to come up to four-score years "by reason of strength," which has been devoted to the illustration as well as to the advocacy of high moral ideals, than to die for any, however noble, cause.

What the world needs is not men who can meet death and women who can see their beloved die without terror and without revolt. Such men and such women it has had from the earliest historic times. But it needs men and women who together can meet life, who can unite in the solution of its problems which, with the advancement of civilization, are constantly becoming more delicate, more intricate and more exacting. In this new time patriotism must take on in women the form corresponding to that which it took in earlier times, but not identical with it. My own conviction is that women should be the inspirers of men. That men and women must mutu-

ally inspire each other perhaps goes without the saying; but when the transition period of which we all talk so much and which seems so long in its passing shall be over, I believe that women will primarily be the inspirers, secondarily the doers, while men will be secondarily the inspirers and primarily the doers.

Perhaps the highest patriots thought that the duty exacted in 1861 was death. Whether right or wrong in interpreting the signs of that time, all must agree that death is not the duty exacted of the patriots of to-day. It is perhaps a harder one. To-day patriotism exacts an unprejudiced, unbiassed, impartial study of the great problems which have become bones of contention between capital and labor; of the other great problems whose solution must determine the limit of individualism and the limit of government control or interference. It is quite impossible that men shall solve these problems wisely who have grown up in homes where these great problems were held in abeyance to the relatively trifling questions of what we shall eat, and what we shall wear, and what our neighbors say, or, indeed what the last novel or the last poem says; subjects which a prevailing dilettanteism takes quite seriously. Patriotic men can not be produced in homes where patriotic women do not exist. So if one limits the consideration of woman's patriotism to the influence which it should exert in her home, a standing committee on patriotism ought to commend itself to the approval of the entire nation.

However, in this country women are not only mothers and teachers at home, but by hundreds of thousands they are teachers in the public schools; by tens of thousands they are teachers in academies and seminaries; by hundreds they are teachers in colleges and universities; by scores they are serving upon school boards and municipal boards, and are thus officially related to the government. As voters, in twenty States they participate in school elections, in three States in all municipal elections, in two States in all elections. Since the first triennial of the National Council, women have sat as regularly elected delegates in the nominating convention of a great political party convened for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-presidency of the United States. And even as I speak, in the legislature of a great State sit three women as duly qualified members of that General Assembly, introducing bills that shall become, that have become laws, discussing public measures, voting for or against measures that shall enter into the civil and political life of a great people. It is high time that the National Council had a standing committee on patriotism.

From Triennial Address at Washington, February 18.

Of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end.—*Isaiah*.